

XII.

Norway.

Report to the International Socialist Bureau.

The political movement.

Norway has, it is known, a thoroughly democratic constitution with a One Chamber system, a strong parliamentarianism and practically no royal right of veto. Every man from 25 years of age who is not recipient of relief has a suffrage without regard to tax-paying, and in 1907 suffrage was also given to women with a certain taxable income or women married to a man who has paid his tax. The bill has just been moved extending the women's suffrage to the same limits as with regard to the men's suffrage. Naturally the socialist members of parliament have moved bills and agitated for making the suffrage universal for women as for men; but the greater part of the other parties have also been in favour of the reform.

The parliamentary elections take place in single constituencies with free re-elections, if none of the candidates gets at least half of the votes at the first election; the re-election system has in this country

given there sult that all parties have their candidates at the first elections, using these as official trial elections; if a socialist gets the most votes the other parties go into alliance with one another on a common candidate in order to shut out the socialist.

At the last elections this manœuvre was made in many constituencies and this was the reason why we only got one representative more than we had before, although our number of votes was doubled (in 1906: 43,000 votes, in 1909: 90,000).

The tactic resolved by the party congress condemns every alliance both at the first and the later elections. This tactic has been necessary because of the bourgeois radical parties of this country being thoroughly militarists, chauvinists and protectionists.

The result of the parliamentary elections of 1909 is seen by the following statistical facts compared with the elections of 1906:

Parliamentary elections of 1906:

Of 79,203 recognized votes in all in *the towns* socialdemocracy got 22,558 or 28,48 perc. *6 socialdemocrats were returned.*

Of 190,078 recognized votes in all in *the country districts* socialdemocracy got 20,235 or 10,64 perc. *4 socialdemocrats were returned.*

The whole voting number of the socialdemocrats for the whole country was consequently 42,793 and 10 socialdemocrats were returned members of parliament.

Parliamentary elections of 1909.*

Of ab. 145,000 recognized votes in the *towns* the socialdemocrats got 48,000 or 33,1 percent. *6 socialdemocrats were returned.*

Of ab. 200,000 recognized votes in the *country-districts* the socialdemocrats got ab. 42,500 or 21,2 percent. *5 socialdemocrats were returned.*

The whole voting number for the whole country was consequently ab. 90,000 and the following 11 socialdemocrats are returned members of parliament for the period 1909—12:

A. Buen, Trondhjem
A. Egede-Nissen, Vardø
Aug. Embretsen, Solør
Ludv. Enge, Sarpsborg
Alfred Eriksen, Tromsøsundet
Mejer Foshaug, Senjen
O. Guldal, Guldalen
Chr. H. Knudsen, Kristiania
Magnus Nilssen, Kristiania
Isak Saba, Øst-Finmarken
L. Sæbø, Bergen

The members of our socialdemocratic fraction of parliament are always anxious to point out the socialdemocratic views and principles, and they have on all occasions demonstrated the different view of the socialdemocratic and the bourgeois parties on, e. g., social reforms, on militarism, etc.

The fraction has prepared and moved several bills, e. g. on the assumption of the sick-nursing

by society, on state-administration of the chemist's shops, on 8 hours' working day, on universal suffrage for women as for men, etc.

The work of the fraction can show many good results and several of the resolutions bear the impress of the energetic work of the social democrats.

The low wages of the state functionaries have been improved and at several of the state factories the 8 hours' day has been introduced.

In the politics of customs our fraction has worked for reducing the duties on necessities of life, and with regard to sugar a reduction has also been resolved by the parliament. The fraction has worked against the growth of the military expenses and proposed a reduction of the military supplies; an increase of the direct tax and the legacy duties has been moved as well as a thorough alteration of our whole system of customs.

Finally the fraction has worked for increased state tribute to the unemployment funds, for improvement of the public schools, for accidents insurance of the fishermen and the lumberers, etc.

The Communities.

At the municipal elections both men and women from 25 years of age have had suffrage also before 1910, the women, however, only within the limits mentioned above; but by an act of parliament passed this year women as well as men got suffrage without regard to tax paid. The bill was moved

by the socialdemocratic fraction together with men from other parties, and all parties gave their votes for the reform. The municipal elections have showed how great an influence socialdemocracy has got also in our sparsely peopled country districts; this is the most characteristic sign of our growing influence through the whole country.

At the municipal elections in 1904 330 *social-democrats* were elected to the councils. Of these one half were elected in the cities and the other half in the country districts.

At the municipal elections in 1907 were elected in all the country municipalities 10,876 councillors and in the cities 1980 councillors — in all together 12,856. Of these were 578 socialdemocrats in the country districts and 295 in the cities, in all 873 *socialistic* municipal councillors in 1907.

In the local boards our party has been working, e. g. for the improvement of the common schools, for free school books, for the 1st of May as a school holiday, for an 8 hours' working day to the municipal workers, for the municipal assumption of the tramways (the gas and electric works being as a rule municipal), etc.

The socialist press

has in the last 3 years greatly increased. We have got several new party-papers and the number of subscribers has been rapidly growing. 8 daily papers are published, namely:

	Circulation
Social-Demokraten, Kristiania	14,000
Arbeidet, Bergen	9,000
Ny Tid, Trondhjem	6,200
1ste Mai, Stavanger	2,700
Fremtiden, Drammen	4,200
Smaalenenes Social-Demokrat, Fredriksstad	3,500
Sørlandets Socialdemokrat, Kristianssand	2,000
Bratsberg-Demokraten, Skien	1,500

3 times a week:

Demokraten, Hamar	1,200
Solungen, Jesaasen, Soler	1,500
Tiden, Arendal	1,200

Twice a week:

Romerikes Blad, Jesseim (published privately)	1,400
Nordlys, Tromsø — —	1,500
Finmarken, Vardø — —	1,200
Fremover, Narvik	1,400
Ny Tid, Trondhjem	2,450
Tidens Krav, Kristianssund	900
Dunderlandsdølen, Mo, Helgeland	850

Once a week:

Agitatoren, Grorud, Akershus	1,500
Mauren, Røros	?
Vestfold Arbeiderblad, Tønsberg	700

Semimonthly:

Verdandisten, Bergen (Socialist temperance organ).	1,000
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Monthly:

Klassekampen, Kristiania (organ for the soc. dem. youth)	2,500
Kvinden, Kristiania (organ for the women's federation of the labour party)	1,200

Quarterly:

Det 20de aarhundrede, Kristiania	2,000
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Pamphlets.

To a growing extent socialist pamphlets are used in our agitation. Several new pamphlets are published every year; the old ones appear in new editions and the sale is rapidly and steadily increasing.

The agitation

by travelling lecturers is rather difficult in our sparsely peopled country; it is no easy matter to reach all the places, where the preaching of socialism is wanted.

Societies and their membership.

A great many new societies have been formed and their membership has been rapidly increasing. The growth is greatest in the country districts; here societies are now formed in places where untill now socialist activity was quite impossible.

The number of the members paying dues to the party is as follows.

Decbr. 31. 1907.

In the towns ab. 16,000

" - country - 7,000

1 all 23,000 m., of which 1,800 women.

Decbr. 31. 1908.

In the towns ab. 19,000

" - country - 8,500

27,500 m. of which 2,000 women.

Decbr. 31. 1909.

In the towns ab. 20,500

„ - country - 6,000

26,500 m. of which 2,500 women.

At the end of 1907 499 branches, 1908 602, 1909 637, that is 339 in the towns, 298 in the country.

Det norske arbeiderparti

(The Norwegian Labour Party).

Incomes.	Expenses.
1907 kr. 10,123.44	kr. 10,118.67
1908 „ 10,257.41	„ 10,033.25
1909 „ 18,515.71	„ 18,474.64

Kristiania May 1910.

Magnus Nilssen,
party secretary.

The trade-unions.

The membership of the trade-unions of Norway have in the later years been rapidly increasing, and the results of the action of the organisation have been very satisfactory; the steady increase of the membership has given a growing strenght to the organizations. In the different conflicts with the employers the organized workers have shown a solidarity and a self-sacrifice which prove that the understanding of the necessity of the organization is rapidly growing among the workers. Especially in the years 1906, 1907 and 1908 the membership has greatly increased, while in the year 1909 there was

a small passing decline in one of the federations affiliated to the central organization.

The Norwegian trade-unions are organized in national federations and some few local societies (which have no federation to get affiliated to). The federations and the societies are united into a Central organization: „Arbeidernes faglige landsorganisation“.

The Central organization was formed on the 1st of April 1899 and could consequently in 1909 celebrate its 10 years jubilee. By the end of 1899 ab. 10,000 workers were organized in federations and ab. 3,000 of these were affiliated to the Central organization. Later on nearly all federations and societies have got affiliated; by the end of 1909 only three smaller organizations: the goldsmiths, lithographers and the Norwegian section of the Scandinavian saddlers' and paperhangers' federation were not affiliated. These organizations numbered in all ab. 700 members.

By the end of the year 1906 12 national federations and 19 local societies were affiliated to the Central organization, with in all 25,288 members in 444 different sections (trade-unions). By the end of 1909 18 national federations and 11 local societies were affiliated with a membership of in all 43,194 in 694 sections. In the three years from 1907—1909 the membership had consequently increased with 17,855 members and the section-number with 250.

The membership of the organizations affiliated,

their receipts and expenditure and their cash balance in the different years are as follows.

Year	Total membership	Total receipts kr.	Total expenditure kr.	On each member kr.	Cash balance kr.	On each memb. kr.
1906.	25,288	537,792.59	372,723.49	17.00	470,028.19	18.00
1907.	38,765	1,076,584.23	779,332.00	21.88	767,003.34	19.10
1908.	47,155	1,128,867.23	1,071,303.10	23.85	822,779.31	18.34
1909.	43,199	1,437,231.97	1,356,752.59	29.59	903,263.79	20.46

By the end of 1909 the membership had it is seen, declined to 43,199; this decline took place in the months of September to November when great extraordinary dues had to be paid to the general strike in Sweden. In June 1909 the membership was 47,399; the *average* membership of 1909 was 46,144 against 45,118 in 1908. In the first months of 1910 the membership has again been increasing (in February 1910: 44,108). It may therefore be hoped that the decline has been only of a passing nature and that the satisfactory growth of the later years now will proceed.

According to a calculation based on statements from the end of the year 1908 the number of organize-able workers in agriculture, forestry, fishing industry, navigation, handicraft, industry, transport, trade and communication was in all 229,260, of whom 203,590 were men and 25,670 women. A great many of these, however, are unorganized, and a great many of them can hardly be organized in the same way

as the industrial workers; this is especially the case with the agricultural workers, and with the seamen and the fishermen the prospects are not very good ones neither. These groups ought therefore to be deducted, if the percentage shall be a correct one.

The relation of organize-able workers to the organized ones will be seen from the statements below.

	Men	Women	Total numb. of organize-able	Total memb. of organized	P.Cent organized w.
I. All groups of w.s	203,590	25,670	229,260	48,157	21.01
II. Agricultural workers deducted . . .	172,590	22,170	194,760	48,157	24.73
III. Fishermen deduct.	164,590	21,680	186,270	48,083	25.81
VI. Seamen deducted.	138,090	21,680	159,770	47,833	29.94

The last group consists of workers in handicraft, industry, transport, trade and communication, all the groups, consequently, which have modern organizations. It may be observed, however, that in these groups as well there are several under-sections, which completely want organizations. In each of the organized trades the percentage is as rule a better one. In the different trades the percentage is as follows:

The percentage of organized workers in the different trades:

	Perc.		Perc.
Agriculture and forestry	0	Paper ind.	59,10
Fishing culture	0,87	Hide- and leather ind. .	28,51
Navigation	0,94	Wood ind.	24,47
Land transport and trade	12,48	Articles of food and	
Construction work.	20,92	pleasure	21,20
Building work	40,38	Articles of dress and	
Mining	56,58	cleaning	16,11
Stone- and earth industry	21,30	Hair-cutting and hair-	
Metal industry	40,50	dressing	0,00
Chemical industry.	42,61	Polygraphic ind.	82,98
Electric power	14,28	Different ind.	0,00
Textile industry.	22,64		

A more specified table of the membership, the receipts and expenditure, and the property of the different organizations in 1909 is given on page 16—17.

In the statements above are also included some small organizations not affiliated to the Central organization with a total membership of 753.

Tariff-Contracts.

Till the end of the year 1906 very few tariff-contracts had been made between the organizations of the employers and the employed or between the trade-unions and the different concerns. Till then the contracts were mostly made in handicraft between the concerns or groups of concerns and their artisans. In manufacturing trade tariff-contracts regulating the wage- and working conditions were very rare.

But from 1906 and especially 1907 a great and sudden change was made. The mutual tariffs won

their way, the union of the Norwegian employers at once giving up its more or less passive resistance against regulating the working conditions by way of tariffs.

The tariffs arranged according to the federations are as follows.

Number of tariffs in the different federations.

Organization	Number of tariffs	Member of workers included in the tariffs
Working men's union	161	21,282
Bakers' & confectioners' union .	15	1,009
Bookbinders' union	5	524
The centr. society of book printers	34	2,487
The moulderers' union.	9	876
Harbour & transportworkers . .	3	531
Iron & metal workers	65	10,600
Litographic union.	1	200
Painters' union	15	1,335
Brick-layers' union	24	1,189
Cabinet-makers' union.	20	737
Saddlers' and paperhanger's un.	2	108
Hide- and leather industry. . .	5	165
Shoemakers' union	24	1,602
Tailors' union	15	929
Butchers' and sausagemakers .	3	154
Stonecutters union	7	1,320
Tramcar drivers' union	1	263
Tobacco workers union	1	133
Tricot working women union. .	3	132
Wood workers union	33	2,676
Single unions	7	645
Total sum	453	48,917

Arranged according to the groups of concerns the tariffs are as follows:

Groups of concerns	Number of tariffs	Member of workers included in the tariffs
Construction works etc.	4	2,501
Bakers' and confectioners' trade	15	1,009
Mining.	23	3,800
Pewterers' trade	8	253
Bookbinders' „	5	524
Bookprinters „	34	2,487
Breweries, distilleries, &c.	6	619
Cooperies	8	248
Electro-chemical and chem. ind.	20	1,409
Watch makers' industry	4	545
Gas and electric works	3	377
Glass-, stone- and brick industry	8	485
Goldsmiths' shops	1	13
Harbour- and transportwork	16	1,778
Manufactory of canned goods	2	990
Lithographic manufacturers	1	200
Painters' shops	14	1,304
Mechanic factories	51	11,219
Brick-layers' trade	22	1,118
Builders, masons	11	535
Cabinet-makers' shops	19	705
Mill-industry	1	70
Plumbers-shops	3	247
Saw-mills and timber-mills.	12	454
Hide- and leather industry.	12	491
Shoemakers' trade	24	1,602
Tailors' trade	15	929
Butchers and sausagemakers.	3	154
Smiths' shops	6	191
Transp.	351	36,247

Transp.	351	36,247
Butter- and milk factories.	4	217
Joiners' and carpenters' trade	18	1,627
Stone-cutters trade	8	1,380
Textile industry	12	1,904
Tobacco industry	2	206
Wood-pulp-, paper and cellulose industry	52	7,062
Factories for wooden articles	6	274
Total sum	453	48,917

Extract of tariff contracts arranged with regard to extirpy.

Month	1910		1911		1912		1913	
	Ta-riffs	Work-ers	Ta-riffs	Work-ers	Ta-riffs	Work-ers	Ta-riffs	Work-ers
January.	—	—	14	1,617	10	670	4	430
February	—	—	2	81	1	210	1	189
March	4	604	62	12,258	4	579	2	180
April	11	607	41	2,514	3	208	2	216
May	17	2,751	53	3,623	6	1,070	—	—
June	20	2,540	10	2,730	3	75	—	—
July	10	635	18	2,215	1	40	—	—
August	14	3,227	22	1,962	—	—	—	—
September	17	398	4	101	3	630	—	—
October	13	577	2	330	—	—	—	—
November	15	918	3	133	—	—	—	—
December	11	1,156	4	182	33	2,352	—	—
Sum	132	13,413	235	27,747	64	5,834	9	1,015

In the above statements are not included a number of tariffs in the saw-mills and timber-mills, which are made in 1910 and expire in 1913; they include ab. 2,000 workers.

Organizations	Mem- bership 31/12 09	Receipts Kr.	Expenditure Kr.	Cash Kr.	Pro- perty on each member Kr.
1) The working men's union	20,983	522,237.86	473,869.43	175,223.17	8.35
2) Bakers and confectioners' union	756	23,908.70	23,667.72	3,438.85	4.55
3) Bookbinders' unions	509	14,697.60	7,976.67	17,017.57	33.43
4) The central society of bookprinters . .	1,882	112,602.50	80,890.01	169,889.88	90.27
5) Moulderers' union	1,023	53,644.73	56,837.74	64,102.48	62.66
6) Goldsmith workers' union	428	5,154.87	932.76	4,222.11	9.86
7) Harbour- and transport workers	1,189	29,802.24	28,889.77	5,545.08	4.66
8) Iron- and metal workers	7,960	404,201.96	456,412.46	303,585.61	38.14
9) Lithographic union	225	11,322.76	4,984.96	14,160.38	62.94
10) Painters' union	908	27,405.20	26,565.31	11,615.06	12.79
11) Brick layers' union	964	27,179.83	20,874.42	25,428.79	26.38
12) Cabinet- makers' union	702	25,991.69	16,884.44	24,787.27	35.31
13) Hide- and leather-industrial workers un.	194	3,164.80	2,229.84	934.96	4.82
14) Shoemakers' union	1,227	26,752.08	23,939.57	10,969.27	8.94
15) Tailors' union	794	14,093.57	13,799.97	5,052.26	6.36
16) Butchers and sausage makers	180	3,563.65	3,387.07	587.17	3.26
17) <i>Træsnider</i> union	277	2,417.29	2,657.14	483.27	1.89
In all	44,223	1,437,236.97	1,356,752.59	903,263.79	20.45

22) <i>Gulles</i> union, Kristiania	14	52.79	124.36	127.38	65.45
23) The ropemakers of Fredriksværn	12	162.49	190.70	127.38	10.61
24) The hatters' society of Kria	90	1,751.30	1,691.50	2,768.40	30.76
25) The cork-cutters' society of Kria	49	—	—	—	—
26) " lace-makers' — " "	8	89.10	30.38	58.72	7.34
27) " rope-makers' — " "	30	459.75	404.96	797.60	26.58
28) " stuccoers' — " "	20	268.00	227.93	58.76	2.94
29) " sugar-bakers' — " "	70	1,455.82	1,275.45	1,927.47	27.54
30) " tobacco workers' — " "	78	1,461.27	1,108.44	1,311.09	16.81
In all	44,223	1,437,236.97	1,356,752.59	903,263.79	20.45

Wage-movement and wage-struggles.

For the years 1908 and 1909 the wage-movement has been as follows:

Year	Without stoppage of work		With stoppage of work		Sum of		Paid subsidies in all kr.
	Motions	Workers	Motions	Workers	Motions	Workers	
1908 . . .	112	7958	61	9643	173	17601	528,560.37
1909 . . .	88	6209	76	3640	164	9849	219,713.50

In the three years from 1907—1909 several great struggles with the employers have been fought. Especially the year 1907 may be mentioned as a year of war. In 1909 it was especially the enormous war in our neighbouring country Sweden, which claimed the attention also of the Norwegian workers. In subsidies to the general strike in Sweden 535,865.65 kronas were sent from Norway.

The present report is but a short extract of the activity of the Norwegian trade-unions in the years 1907—1909. In the international reports of the trade-unions, which are published every year by the international secretary in Berlin, more specified reports of the trade-union-movement of Norway may be found.

Kristiania, May 1910.

On behalf of
„Arbeidernes faglige landsorganisation
i Norge“

Ole O. Lian,
president.

Report

to

the Congress in Copenhagen 1910

from

The Swedish Socialdemocratic Labour Party.

In our report to the Stuttgart Congress in 1907 we explained the political movements in Sweden that year and the Suffrage Bill the Government and the Conservative party succeeded to force through, against the majority in the »second chamber».

The Swedish workingclass' fight against the old Suffrage system gave them already in 1902 the recognition as a principle of Universal suffrage for the »second chamber», but in connection with certain »guarantees». The fight against those guarantees occupied the following years. The Conservative and Liberal parties put the voters age to 24, with paid taxes for three years and no owings to the Poor Commission. Against these reductions in the rights for the workingclass, the Socialdemocratic Party in the Parliament fought alone, and in 1906 also connected Women's enfranchisement to their motion. Concerning the electoral system the Conservative party claimed proportional elections only to the »second chamber», whereas the first should be undisturbed, totally in the power of the Capitalists. The Liberal party claimed »constituencies for one member» to the second chamber and to the first chamber the old conditions.